

*T H E*  
**D. E C L A R A T I O N**  
*O F T H E*  
**L O R D S and C O M M O N S**  
*O F*  
**P A R L I A M E N T**

Assembled at **OXFORD** according to  
His **M A J E S T I E S** Proclamation,

Concerning their Endeavours since  
they came thither for the **P E A C E** of the  
Kingdom, and the Reasons enforcing their  
absence from *Westminster*.

---

*C H A R L E S R.*

**O** V r expresse Pleasure is, That this Declaration of the Lords  
and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, be read  
by the Parson, Vicar or Curate, in every Church and Chappell  
within Our Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*.

*March. 19. 1643.*

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Printed by His **M A J E S T I E S** Command, at the  
*desire of the Lords and Commons of Parliament*  
*Assembled at O X F O R D,*

By **L E O N A R D L I C H F I E L D**, Printer  
*to the Vniversity, 1643.*

DECLARATION  
OF THE  
COMMONS  
IN PARLIAMENT

That the Commons of Great Britain  
do hereby declare that the  
rights and liberties of the  
people of Great Britain  
are the birthright of every  
free-born subject, and  
that no man is to be  
deprived of them but  
by the law of the land.

CHARLES II.  
We expressly declare that the Declaration of the Lords  
and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, the 24th  
of the 1st year of Charles II. in every Church and Chapel  
within Great Britain and the Town of Wales  
shall be read, in the year 1643.

Printed by His Majesty's Command  
at the Press of the Stationers Company  
in the Strand, at the Sign of the Gun  
By LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer  
1643



THE  
DECLARATION  
Of the Lords and Commons of Par-  
liament Assembled at OXFORD according  
to His MAJESTIES Proclamation, concern-  
ing their Endeavours since they came thither  
for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the  
*Reasons enforcing their absence  
from Westminster.*



THE Lords and Com-  
mons of Parliament, being  
upon just and important rea-  
sons absent from the City of  
*Westminster*, whither wee  
were Legally called or sent  
by the Power and Authority  
of His Majesties Writ, when  
He summoned His Parlia-  
ment; And being by His gracious Proclamation of the  
22<sup>d</sup> day of *December*, Convened at *Oxford*, with full El-  
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berty to present our humble advice to His Majesty, for  
 the preservation of the Religion, Lawes, and Safety of  
 the Kingdom, Thought it most agreeable to our Duty to  
 God, our zeale and tendernesse of His Majesties honour  
 and safety, and our Affection & Compassion of the blee-  
 ding condition of our miserable Country, to use our ut-  
 most and earliest endeavours, to prevent the effusion of  
 more Christian English Blood, & to close those wounds,  
 through which this Kingdom is in danger, in a short time,  
 to languish even to desolation. And finding the ill suc-  
 cesse which had attended all the Overtures of Treaty and  
 Accommodation made by His Majesty; His Majesties  
 most gracious Message from *Nottingham*, being with so  
 much contempt rejected, which being sent by Members  
 of both Houses, those Messengers were not suffered to de-  
 liver it, as Members, or to sit in the House whil'st the  
 same was debated, contrary to the Priviledge of Parlia-  
 ment; and that to the two last Messages, sent by him, of  
 the twelfth of *Aprill*, and nineteenth of *May*, (in both  
 which are most gracious expressions of His Princely and  
 passionate inclinations to Peace, as may appeare by those  
 Messages herewith again reprinted,) there hath not been  
 the least answer returned to His Majesty: but on the con-  
 trary His Messenger imprisoned, and to this day detained;  
 and an Order that on pain of Death none should presume  
 to come thither from His Majesty, upon what businesse  
 soever, without leave from the the Earle of *Essex*, in pur-  
 suance of which Order, though the same passed only the  
 Commons, a sworne Messenger of His Majesties hath  
 been barbarously put to death, for carrying a Legall  
 Writ to *London*; We thought any addressse for Peace  
 would most successfully passe through His hands, and  
 that

M. Alexander  
 Hampden.

Daniel  
 Kniveton.



that when we had considered how unhappily he had been made an Instrument of so much blood and devastation, he would with great cheerfulness have interposed in a business of reconciliation, and at least have met us halfe way in so blessed a Worke, and therefore with His Majesties leave (which He most readily and gratiouſly gave us, and for which we doubt not He shall receive the Thanks and Prayers of all His good Subjects) we direct a Letter to that purpose to him, signed under our hands. Whosoever reads that Letter (and we hope it will be read by all men) will beare us witnesse (and it will be a Witnesse against those who have rejected it,) that we have done our parts. Instead of vouchsafing us any Answer, or proposing us any other way towards Peace, (if that which we Proposed was not thought convenient,) he writes a short Letter to the Earle of Forth, Generall of His Majesties Army, acknowledging the receipt of ours, but saying, *that it neither having addresse to the two Houses of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgement of them, he could not communicate it to them;* Whereas the addresse was in the way prescribed, (prescribed under pain of Death no addresse being allowed, as aforesaid, but by the Earle of Essex,) and he being desired to represent to, and promote with those by whom he is trusted, our most sincere and earnest desire of a Treaty; so that if there had been the least inclination to, or enduring of an Overture of Peace, he might have as easily communicated it to all those by whom he is intrusted, as to a Committee, by whose Advice ( 'tis well known ) his Answer was sent, and with it, and as part of it, a Paper entitled, *The Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland; and, A Declaration of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland;*

and another, *A solemn League and Covenant*; the Declarations and Covenant being against the King of both Kingdoms, without the consent of, and against the Major part of the Nobility, and we are confident the Gentry and Commonalty of This. And if his Lordship would make good his own Letter, and spend His Blood, or but use his endeavour for the maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, being indeed the foundation whereupon all Our Lawes and Liberties are supported, We should not Treat at this distance, at least a Treaty would not have been rejected. Wee suffered not Our Selves to be discouraged with this refusall, but a safe Conduct was desired for two Gentlemen (against whom there neither was or could bee the least exception) to go to *Westminster*, to present such Propositions as might best conduce to the Peace of the Kingdom; conceiving, that by such meanes Our meaning and Intentions might best appeare, and all Formalities and unnecessary insisting and mistakes upon words might be removed. This safe Conduct (which hath never been denied by His Majesty, or His Generalls, to any Person who hath desired to have admittance to Him,) was likewise absolutely refused by the Earle of *Essex*, yet with some expressions, *That if any Propositions, should be sent to those by whom he was intrusted, he would use his ut most endeavours to advance Peace*; which though it seem'd nothing agreeable to his former Answers, obtained yet so much credit with Vs, that We besought His Majesty once more, in His owne Royall Name, to presse and desire a Treaty, and to direct His Message under such a Title, That they who call themselves the two Houses of Parliament could not take any exception, but should be compelled to returne  
some

some answer or other. And an answer it hath drawne from them, but such a one as will sufficiently informe the World (if there could yet have remained any doubt of it) how much they are Enemies to Peace. Those Answers, Declarations, and that Covenant, are likewise publique to all men, God and the World must judge betweene us. In the meantime we must, without bitternesse or sharpnesse of Language, (to which neither example or provocation shall transport us) tell these men, That most of us are too well knowne, even to themselves, to be suspected to incline to be either Papists or Slaves, or that We can possibly be made Instruments to advance either Popery or Tyranny. And since the defence of the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome, seemes to be (and in truth is on our part) the Argument of this bloody Contention, and that we are endeavouring all wayes to destroy one another, in the behalf of that we all doe, or all pretend to desire; We think our selves obliged to Truth, to the present Age and to Posterity, to let the world know, that as we are much more tender of the Religion, Lawes and Liberty of the Kingdome, then of our Lives and Fortunes; so the uneasie Condition wherein we are, and the heavy Judgments and proscriptions imposed on us by our equalls, have proceeded, and been caused from that Conscience, Loyalty and Duty, in which we have been born and bred, and from which we could not swerve without the manifest breach of our Allegiance, and those civill Oathes we are obliged by; as, we hope, will appeare to all men by this our ensuing Declaration.

We shall passe over (only acknowledging His Majesties abundant care and favour to His People) those excellent Lawes made by this Parliament, for the vindication and removall



movall of those mischiefs and inconvenienc es, which seemed to threaten our Rights and Liberty , to all which there are very few amongst us who concurred not fully, ( however we are now traduced with the negligence of both; ) And that most gracious offer of His *Majestie*, to consent to an Act for the ease of tender Conscienc es in matters indifferent, which if it had been accepted, would have prevented many of the miseries have since befallen this poore Kingdom.

And because the name and Priviledge of Parliament is pretended in defence of those Actions , which are done contrary to the known Lawes, ( by which only right and wrong can be measured and determined, ) and by that venerable name many of our Companions and Friends have been led into unwarrantable Actions; before we come to consider the state and condition of the Religion , Lawes and Liberty of the Kingdom by these distractions , we shall let the world know, how much the inherent and essentiall Priviledges of Parliament have been violated; how we ( being called by His Majesty , and trusted by our Country with their suffrages in that Councell ) have been driven, and are now kept from the place whither we were first called by His Majesty , and where some Members still sit; And lastly, how farre this miserable, and ( to say no more ) this unjustifiable civill warre, and this desperate and odious Invitation of a Forreign Power to invade this Kingdome, is from having the Countenance, Authority and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament.

The great industry and ill Arts used by those who have since been Principall Instruments of the present Rebellion, to bring in Persons of their Faction into the House of Commons, the admitting and receiving such who were  
neither

neither lawfully chosen, or lawfully returned by their Country, and the putting and keeping out others whose opinions were not liked; The reprehending, reproaching and imprisoning of Members for speaking freely according to their consciences in matters in debate, The Posting and setting up Mens names in publique places, and proscribing them as Enemies to their Countrey, who dissented in the Houses in opinion in matters debated, and being complained of, no reparation granted; The sitting at unparliamentary howres, thereby wearying and tiring many Members from attendance, and so in a thinne House altering and reversing the resolution taken in a full House; The refusing to receive and suppressing Petitions against Persons in favour, though in poynt of Bribery and corruption in Iudicatory; and the like of other Petitions from whole Counties, for the preservation of the Government of the Church, as from *Nottingham-shire*, and *Somerset-shire*, whilst others against it were received with great countenance and approbation, from meane, unknown People; The getting with great labour and Faction severall hands to Petitions from Counties, and then framing new Petitions at *London*, and annexing the hands formerly gotten in the Countrey to those Petitions, of which they who subscribed their hands know nothing, as in the Petition of *Buckingham-shire*, & the setting names in *London* to Petitions in the name of, as if they had bin subscribed in remote Counties; The usurping of Jurisdictions to supercede Acts of Parliament, & to dispense with the breach of Lawes in force; The suffering undutifull & disloyal language against the sacred Person of the King, without so much as Reprehension, and the denying His Majesties negative Voyce; We insist not so much (though very

As in the case  
of the late  
Earle of *Manchester* Lord  
Privy-Seale.

prejudiciall and scandalous to the Priviledges and Honour of Parliament) as on those Acts of Force and Violence, which are contrary and destructive to the Freedome and Liberty of Parliament.

Shortly after, His Majestic returned from *Scotland*, there being a very long debate in the House of Commons concerning an unparliamentary Remonstrance to be published to the People of the state of the Kingdome, (which many of Vs then thought might prove prejudiciall to the Peace thereof;) Captaine *Venne*, then a Member of the House of Commons, (who had before bragged of having brought down the People upon the two Houses, and so drawn Resolutions from them,) sent notes in writing under his hand into the Citie, that the People should come down to *Westminster*, for that *the better part of the House was like to be over-powred by the worser part*; whereupon both at that time, and some dayes after, Multitudes of the meanest sort of People, with weapons not agreeing with their condition or custome, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the Priviledge of Parliament, filled up the way between both Houses, offering injuries both by words and actions to, and laying violent hands upon severall Members, proclaiming the names of severall of the Peeres, as *evill and rotten-hearted Lords*, crying out many houres together against the established Lawes, in a most tumultuous & menacing way. This action of Captaine *Venne's* was complained of to the House of Commons, and Witnesses offered to prove it; a Fellow who had assaulted and reproached a Member of the House of Commons in those Tumults was complained of, and shewed to the House, in the number of those who brought a Petition to the Barre; and yet in neither of these cases Justice,



Iustice, or so much as an Examination could be obtained. Upon a suggestion and pretence of danger, and suit made to His Majestie, a Guard was allowed and appointed by Him for the security of both Houses: shortly after, this Guard was refused and discharged by themselves, and a new Guard appointed by them without his Majesties consent, thereby to awe all those who concurred not with them. A legall Writ issuing out by the direction of the House of Peeres under the great Seale of *England*, to prevent those Tumults which dayly infested both Houses, the Iustices of the Peace, for executing that Writ according to their Oathes, were imprisoned by the House of Commons. A Commission under the great Seale of *England*, for enquiry after Riots committed in *Southwarke*, was likewise superseded by an Order of the House of Commons; and when the Lords desired by severall Messages, that the House of Commons would joyne with them in a Declaration against Tumults, they refused, or neglected to joyne with them, it being said by Master *Pym* in the House of Commons, *God forbid we should dishearten our friends who came to assist us.* And albeit some of the Lords professed, that if the People were againe drawne downe in that tumultuous manner, they would no more come to the House; and albeit an Order was made, that in such a case the House should be presently adjourned, yet those Tumults again appearing, that Order, though urged by severall Lords, was not suffered to be executed.

The House of Commons having desired the House of Peeres to joyn with them in desiring his Majesty, that the *Militia* of this Kingdom might be put into such hands as both Houses did confide in; and this desire having

been put to the Question, and carried negatively by much the *major* part of the Lords: it being again resumed at another time (contrary to the course of Parliament) the debate was begun with a Declaration made by severall of those Lords, against whom that Question was twice carried by Votes, (and that by much the *major* part) that *who-soever refused in this particular to joyne with the House of Commons, were in their opinions Enemies to the State*; words destructive from the Liberty and freedome of debate.

During the time that this businesse of the *Militia* was in debate, (that is, before it had the approbation and consent of the House of Peeres) a Petition in a tumultuous manner was delivered to the House of Lords, in the name of the *Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders and others the Inhabitants of the County of Hertford*, reckoning up the causes of the present Feares, Troubles and Distractions, and among them the want of Compliance in that honourable House with the House of Commons, in entertaining those many good motions, and passing those necessary Bills presented to them from that House, for the publique good; and desiring Liberty to protest against all those, as Enemies to the publique, who refused to joyne with the Honourable Lords, whose endeavours were for the publique good, and with the House of Commons, for the putting the Kingdom into a posture of safety, under the Command of such persons as the Parliament should appoynt. Severall Petitions of the same nature, particularly one under the Title of the *Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the County of Surrey*, directed to the House of Peeres, concluded with this close, *That they should be in duty obliged to maintain their Lordships so farre*

farre as they should be united with the House of Commons in their just and pious proceedings; sufficiently intimating That if they joyned not with the House of Commons, they then meant as much as others had plainly professed. About the same time, a Citizen laying at the Barre of the House of Commons, That they heard there were Lords who refused to consent and concurre with them, and that they would gladly know their names, or words to that effect; A Petition in the name of many thousand poore People, in and about the City of London, was directed to the House of Commons; taking notice of a malignant faction that made abortive all their good motions, which tended to the Peace and tranquillity of this Kingdom, desiring that those noble Worthies of the House of Peeres, who concurred with them in their happy Votes, might be earnestly desired to joyne with that Honourable House, and to sit and Vote together, as one entire body; and professing, that unlesse some speedy remedy were taken for the removing all such obstructions, as hindered the happy progresse of their great endeavours, their Petitioners should not rest in quietnesse, but should be forced to lay hold on the next Remedy which was at hand, to remove the disturbers of the Peace, and (want and necessity breakeing the bounds of modesty) not to leave any means unassayed for their reliefe; Lastly, adding that the cry of the Poor and needy was, that such Persons, who were the obstacles of their Peace, and the hinderers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament, might be forthwith publicquely declared, whose removal they conceived would put a Period to those distractions. And this Petition was brought up to the House of Lords; by the House of Commons at a Conference; and after, the same day, M. Hollis, a Member of the House of Commons, in a Message from that House,

Y<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>t</sup>



pressed the Lords at their Barre to joyne with the House of Commons in their desire about the *Militia*; and farther with many other expressions of like nature desired in words to this effect, *That if that desire of the House of Commons were not assented unto, those Lords who were willing to concurre, would finde some means to make themselves known, that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to those that sent them.* After which Petition so strangely framed, countenanced and seconded, many Lords thereupon withdrawing themselves, the Vote in order to the *Militia*, twice before rejected, was then passed.

After these and other unparliamentary Actions, many things rejected and settled upon solemn debate were again, after many Threats and Menaces, resumed, altered, and determined, contrary to the Custome and Lawes of Parliament. And so many of us withdrew our selves from thence, where we could not Sit, Speake, and Vote, with Honour, Freedome, and Safety, and are now kept from thence for our duty and Loyalty to our Sovereigne. And though some of us sate and continued there long after this, hoping that we might have been able to have prevented the growth and progresse of farther mischief; yet since the Priviledge of Parliament is so substantiall and entire a Right, that as the Invasion of the Liberties of either House is an injury to the other, and the whole Kingdom; so the violence and assaults upon any of our fellow Members, for expressing their opinions in matters of debate, were instances to us, what we were to look for when we should be known to dissent from what was expected; and under that consideration every one of our just Liberties suffered violation.

Many

Many of us having for these and other reasons, after His Majesty himselfe was by many indignities and force driven from *Westminster*, have been, contrary to the right and freedom of Parliament, Voted out of the House, without committing any Crime, and some of us without hearing, or so much as being summoned to be heard, and so our Countries, for which we were, and are trusted, have been without any Proxies or Persons trusted on their behalfe; an Army hath been raised without and against His Majesties Consent; and a Protestation enjoined to live and dye with the Earle of *Essex*, their Generall of that Army; and a Member now amongst us, refusing to take that Protestation, was told, That if he left not the Towne speedily he should be committed to the Tower, or knocked on the head by the Souldiers. All Persons, even the Members of both Houses, have been and now are forced, or enjoined to contribute for the maintenance and support of that Army; A traiterous Covenant is since taken by the Members who remaine, and imposed upon the Kingdome, *that they will to their power assist the Forces raised and continued by both Houses of Parliament, against the Forces raised by the King*; with many other Clauses, directly contrary to their Allegiance; and another for the alteration of the *Government of the Church* established by Law: and such Members as have retuled, according to their duty and conscience, to take those Covenants, have been imprisoned or expelled; so as they have suffered none to reside with them, but those who are engaged with them in their desperate courses.

The whole Power and Authority of both Houses is delegated, against the Law and nature of Parliament, to a close Committee, which assumes and usurpes the power of

of King, Lords and Commons, disposes of the Persons, Liberties and Estates of us and our fellow Subjects, without so much as communicating their Resolutions to those that sit in the Houses. And when an Order hath been reported to be confirmed by them it hath been only put to the Question, no debates being suffered, it having been said in the House where the Commons sit, to those who have excepted against such an Order, when presented, *That they were onely to Vote, not to dispute;* and thereupon all Argument and contradiction hath been taken away. And to shew how impossible it is to containe themselves within any bond of civility and humanity, when they have forfeited their Allegiance; after the attempt in a most barbarous manner to Murther the Queenes Majesty at Her landing at *Burlington*, by making many great shot at the house, where Shee lodged for Her repose after a long Voyage by Sea, where by Gods blessing it was disappointed, they impeached Her of high Treason, for assisting the King Her Husband, and the Kingdome in their greatest necessities. All Petitions and addreses for Peace have been, with great Art and vehemence, discountenanced and suppressed; whilst others for sedition and discord have with no lesse Industry and passion been promoted; And when the Members of the House of Commons in *August* last, had agreed upon a long and solemn debate to joyne with the Lords in sending Propositions of Peace to His Majesty, the next day Printed papers were scattered in the Streets, & fixe upon the publique places both in the City and Suburbs, requiring *all Persons well affected to rise as one man, and to come to the House of Commons next morning, for that 20000 Irish Rebels were landed;* which direction and Information was likewise that day given



given in Pulpits by their seditious Preachers; and in some of those Papers were subscribed, *That the Malignant Party had over-voted the good, and if not prevented there would be Peace*, (the Propositions for Peace being the day before carried by nine and twenty voyces;) a common Councell was called late at night, though Sunday, and a Petition there framed against Peace, which was the next morning brought to the House, countenanc'd by Alderman *Pennington* (a knowne Promoter and Governour of those Tumults,) and attended with a great multitude of meane Persons, who used Threats, Menaces and Reproaches to the Members of both Houses; their Petition took notice of *Propositions passed by the Lords for Peace, which if allowed, would be destructive to Religion, Lawes and Liberties*; and therefore desired an Ordinance according to the Tenor of an Act of their common Councell the night before; Thankes was given them by the Commons, whil'st the Lords complained of the Tumults, and desired a concurrence to suppress them, and to prevent the like, many of the People telling the Members of both Houses, *That if they had not a good answer they would be there the next day with double the number*. By these Threats and violence, the Propositions formerly received were rejected, and all thoughts of Peace laid aside; Shortly after, great numbers of women resort to the House where the Commons sat, with a Petition for Peace; Troopes of Horse were hereupon sent for, who wound and kill severall of the women, and disperse the rest; then speciall notice was taken of those Members who seemed most importunate and desirous of Peace; and thereupon the late Covenant eagerly and severely pressed upon them. By reason whereof, and the other miscarriages, whereby their freedome

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was

was absolutely taken from them; divers of both Houses withdrew themselves.

And we must now appeale to all our fellow Subjects of this Kingdome, who have taken the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, who have any knowledge of the Rights, Customes and Priviledges of Parliament, or of the frame and Constitution of this Realme, whether we or they have failed in our duty to our King or Countrey; and whether we have not, in discharge of a good Conscience, undergone the evils we have borne. And then we doubt not, we shall not be thought lesse Members of Parliament, though we are not at *Westminster*, then if that City were in the possession of a Forraigne Enemy; yet we confesse the place to be so materiall, that if there were that Liberty and freedome which is due to the Members, and indeed is the life of Parliament, the Act of those in the House (being a lawfull Act) is the Act of the House, though there were a greater number absent, all who were of another opinion: but in our case, when we are by force driven away, and by force kept away, and when nothing can be said to justifie the Actions which are done, but the Reputation and number of the Actors, we relie so much upon the understanding & honesty of our Country-men, that they will beleeve, when they see our concurrence, and unanimitie in Resolutions and Counsell for their Peace, welfare and security, (as we are confident the number of those who concurre in this Declaration, is greater then hath concurred in most, if not in any of those things of which we complaine,) that it will be better for them to be advised by Ys at *Oxford*, then by those at *Westminster*; from whence we are absent onely by reason of those outrages and violence offered to our Persons or our Consciences,

Consciencs, which takes away all freedome, and consequently all authority from those Councells, and where indeed these men ought not to undertake to act any thing, till that freedome and liberty be restored to us, who as long as this Parliament shall continue (notwithstanding all the Votes of those who are Guilty of Treason and Rebellion) must account our selves, and shall be accounted by our Countrey, the true and lawfull Members of Parliament.

Having said thus much to undeceive our Brethren, and that our fellow Subjects may be no longer seduced to unlawfull actions, by colour and pretence of Parliament, we shall briefly present to their view and consideration the danger and condition of His Majesties Person, His Honour, and Rights, the Religion and Liberty of the Kingdome, the defence and maintenance of which those Persons, with whom we cannot agree, seeme and pretend to undertake. For their Care of the honour and safety of His Majesties Person, (to the which we are so absolutely obliged, and so solemnly sworne) we shall need onely to mention (which we mention with great sadnesse of heart and horror) the taking by force His Majesties Forts, Townes, Navy, the assuming a power over the *Militia* of the Kingdome, the denying His Majesties Negative Voice, the uncomely, insolent and disloyall mentioning of His Majesties Person, the neglect, contempt and violation of Leagues made by His Majesty with Forraigne Princes, in the Injuries and affronts done to their publique Ministers, and otherwise, the transcendent presumption of sending Agents to Forraigne Princes, and in the name of the States of *England*, the traiterous distinction between the Person of the King & His Office, and declaring, That



an attempt upon His life is not High Treason; which doctrine is so much countenanced, that Persons, who have threatned to Kill the King, having been complained of, have been left *unpunished*, and the Witnesses and Prosecutors *threatned* or discountenanced; The raising an Army against Him, and therewith giving Battell to His Person; All which are known to be very unagreeable with the Affection, Duty and Loyalty of Subjects, and Englishmen.

M. Pym,

Concerning Religion, We cannot but with bleeding hearts, and trembling soules consider the unheard of Impieties and Prophanations exercised in Churches, and Consecrated places, the Countenance and license given to scandalous, debosh, ignorant Lay-persons to Preach, and exercise the Office of the Ministry; the suppressing and cruell using and imprisoning in Goales and on Ship-board, Godly, Learned, Orthodox Divines, famous and exemplar in their lives and Doctrine, the most eminent Assertors of the Protestant Religion, against Popery and Innovations; The Scurrilous and Scandalous Reviling, scoffing and suppressing the Book of Common-Prayer, compiled by glorious Martyrs for the Protestant Religion established by Law, and so long, and so publicquely used, and acknowledged as an excellent and unparallel'd forme of Devotion and Divine service; The suspending the execution of the Act of Parliament made in the first yeare of Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memory, for uniformity of Common-Prayer, by an Order under the hand of a private Member of the House of Commons, and that during the recess of both Houses; The stirring up and inciting the People to Rebellion in Pulpits, and (which is the greatest scandall and reproach to the Protestant Religion

gion that can be imagined ) the making Religion it selfe the ground and cause of Rebellion; Lastly, after having lived so many yeares in the most glorious, and most unblemished Church of Christendome, the totall defacing and pulling downe the whole Fabrick of it; censuring and reproaching the Doctrine, and destroying the discipline, and as if we were cast a shore in some uninhabited Climate, where the Elements of Christianity were not known, The calling, without the least shadow or colour of Law, or Lawfull Authority, against His Majesties expresse Consent, manifestly against the Statute of 25<sup>th</sup> year of King Henry the eight, *an Assembly of Divines*, composed of some Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, ( all under the stile of Godly and Learned Divines ) most of which are not otherwise known, then by their Schisme & separation from that Church, in which they were borne, and to which they have subscribed; and these men now must new make and mould the Religion, by which we must all be saved. God in his good time we hope will vindicate his own cause, and repaire the breaches which have been lately made.

For the Lawes of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, so speciously urged and pretended to be the end of those who have disturbed our Peace, We need say little; Every place and every person is an ample evidence & testimony of the bold and avowed violation of either. The Charter of our Liberties *Magna Charta*, so industriously and Religiously preserved by our Ancestors, and above Thirty severall times confirmed in Parliament, that Rampier and Bulwark of all the pretious Priviledges and Immunities which the Subjects of this Kingdom could boast of, and which distinguishes them from all the Subjects of

Christendome, is levelled and Trampled underfoot, scorned, despised and superseded by Votes and Orders; Men of all sorts, Clergy and Laity, imprisoned without the least charge that by the Law is called a Crime, and their Estates are sequestred by persons of whom the Law can take no notice; Committees made by Committees, Rob, Banish, and Imprison the Lords and Commons of *England*; Men committed by persons of no Authority, for no cause, to Prison, have by *Habeas Corpus* (the good old Remedy and Security for our Liberty) been brought to the *Kings Bench*, and by Command of those who first Committed them remanded, & Commands given to the Judges that they should grant no *Habeas Corpus* (which they were sworn to grant) to any Persons committed by them, or by those to whom they grant Authority to commit, which themselves have not power to doe. Neither can we passe over the motion made by Mr *Rigby*, a Member of the House of Commons, to transport those Lords and Gentlemen who were Prisoners, and by them accounted Malignants, to be sold as Slaves to *Argiers*, or sent to the new Plantation in the West Indies, urged the second time with much earnestnesse, because the Proposer had contracted with two Merchants to that purpose; the which though it took no effect at that time, may awaken those who have observed so many things to passe and be ordered, long after it hath been once or twice denied and rejected. And who sees the new and inhumane way of imprisoning Persons of Quality under Decks on Ship-board, by which cruell usage, many of our Countrymen have been murdered, may have reason to feare they may be hereafter carried a longer voyage then is yet avowed. The twentieth part of our Estates is at once taken, & if we

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are not willing to obey that Order, the other Nineteen are taken from us as Malignants, a terme unknown and undefined, and yet crime enough to forfeit our lives, and all that we have. Our fellow Subjects have been executed in cold blood, for doing that which by the Lawes of God and Man they were bound to doe; and after their Murther, their estates seized, and their Wives and Children exposed to misery and famine. Lawes made, and Penalties imposed by Lawes this Parliament, are suspended, dispensed withall, & those things done by Order, against which those Lawes were made. And that there may be no face of Iustice over the Land, the Iudges are prohibited to ride their Circuits, for the administration of that Iustice which the King owes His People, and they are bound to execute. And after all this, and after the mercilesse shedding so much English blood, after the expending so much money, (much of which was given for reliefe of our poor Protestant Brethren of Ireland, and diverted for the improving the distractions at home,) after the transportation of such vast summes of money, and great Treasure into Forreign Parts, to the unspeakable impoverishing this poor Kingdom; To make our misery lasting and our Confusion compleat, a Forreign enemy is invited and brought into the Bowells of this Kingdome, to drinke our blood, to divide our Possession, to give us new Lawes, and to Rule over us; and the better to make way to those horrid Impositions, by confounding and making void all civill Rights and Proprieties, and the better preparing the Kingdome to be shared by strangers, a New Great Seale (the speciall ensigne of Monarchy, and the only way by which Iustice is derived and distributed to the People) is counterfited.

M. Yeomans  
and M. Bouchier of Bristol.

M. Tompkins  
M. Challoner  
at London, and  
divers others.

terfeited and used, albeit it be by the expresse letter of the Statute of the 25. yeare of King *Edward* the third, declared to be High Treason.

Having now made this cleare, plain Narration to the Kingdom, ( the truth and particulars whereof are known to most men ) that when Posterity shall find our names in the Records of thesetimes, as Members trusted by our Countrey in that great Councell, by whose authority and power the present alteration and distraction seems to be wrought, It may likewise see how farre we have been and are from consenting to these desperate and fatall Innovations; we cannot rest satisfied without Declaring and publishing to all our fellow Subjects & to the whole World, That all our Intentions and Actions have been, are, and shall be directed to the defence of His Majesties Person and just Rights; the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom established by Law; That as we doe with all humility to God Almighty, and as a great blessing from him, acknowledge His Majesties happy and Religious Reigne and Government over this Kingdom, and especially the excellent Lawes, and Statutes made in His time, and particularly those in this Parliament; so we doe with all duty and submission Declare, That His Majesty is the only supream Governour of this Realme in all causes Ecclesiasticall and Temporall; That His naturall Person is not to be divided from His Kingly Office, but that our naturall Allegiance, & the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, doe bind us and all His other Subjects, to Loyalty and Allegiance, to His naturall Person; That His Majesties Negative Voyce ( without which Monarchy is dissolved ) is an inherent Right of His Crowne, and that no Orders of one or both Houses of  
Parliament

Parliament, without His Majesties expresse consent, can make a Law to bind the Subjects, either in their Property or Liberty; That we doe from our soules abhorre the present Rebellion raised in this Kingdom against His Majesty, and that all His Majesties Subjects are bound by their naturall Allegiance, and the Oathes Lawfully taken by them, to the utmost of their power, to resist and re-  
 presse the same; and particularly the Army now under the Command of the Earle of *Essex*, and all other Armies raised, or to be raised without His Majesties consent, under pretence of the two Houses of Parliament. And we doe disclaime all Votes, Orders & Declarations in Countenance or maintenance of the said Armies; And Declare, That no Oath or Covenant voluntarily taken, or enforced, doth, or can bind or dispence with the breach of those other Oathes formerly and Lawfully taken to His Majesty; And that all those who ayde, assist, or abet this horrid and odious Rebellion, are, and ought to be accounted and pursued as Traitors, by the known Lawes of the Land; That we utterly detest and disclaime the Invitation which hath been made to His Majesties Subjects of *Scotland* to enter this Kingdom with an Army, the same being as much against the desires, as against the duty of the Lords and Commons of *England*, and all true hearted Englishmen; And we doe declare and publish to the world, That as any such Invasion, or hostile entry into the Kingdom by the Rebellious Subjects of *Scotland*, is a direct and peremptory breach of the late *Act of Pacification* between the two Kingdoms; so that we, and all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound by our Allegiance, and by that very Act to resist and re-  
 presse such Invasion; and whosoever is or shall be abetting, aiding or assisting to those



those of *Scotland*, in their hostile Invasion of this Kingdom, ought to be looked upon as betrayers of their Country, and are guilty of High Treason by the known Lawes of the Kingdom.

And that our weak misled and seduced Country-men, may no longer pay an implicate regard and reverence to the abused name of Parliament, (which these guilty Persons usurpe to themselves) and so submit to those Actions and Commands, which two Houses of Parliament (never so legally and regularly constituted) have not authority to require or enioyne; and since these men will not suffer their poor Countrey to be restored by a Treaty to the benefit of a Parliament, which would with Gods blessing easily remove these miseries, and prevent the like for the time to come; We must and doe declare to the whole Kingdom, That as at no time either or both Houses of Parliament, can by any Orders or Ordinances impose upon the People without the Kings consent; so by reason of the want of Freedom and Security for all the Members of Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, and there to Sit, Speak and Vote with Freedom and safety, all the Actions, Votes, Orders, Declarations, and pretended Ordinances, made by those Members who remain still at *Westminster*, are void & of none effect; And that as many of the Lords and Commons Assembled at *Westminster*, as have at any time consented to the raising of Forces under the Command of the Earle of *Essex*, or to the making and using of the new Great Seale, or to the present coming of the *Scots* into *England* in a warlike manner, have therein broken the trust reposed in them by their Countrey, and are to be proceeded against as Traitors. And yet we are farre from dissolving or attempting the dissolution of this Parliament,

liament, or the violation of any Act made and Confirmed by His Majesties Royall Assent this Parliament, which we shall alwaies maintain and defend: Acts of Parliament are only in danger to be destroyed by thole who undervalue and despise the Authority and Power of Acts of Parliament, who therefore deny the Kings Negative Voyce, and neglect His Concurrence, that their own Resolutions may be reputed as Acts of Parliament, to the Ruine and Confusion of all Lawes and Interest. It is our grieve in the behalfe of the whole Kingdom, that since the Parliament is not dissolved, the power thereof should, by the Treason and violence of these Men, be so farre suspended, that the Kingdom should be without the fruit and benefit of a Parliament, which cannot be reduced to any Action or Authority, till the Freedom and Liberty due to the Members be restored and admitted; and they who oppose this, must be only looked upon as the Enemies to Parliament: in the meantime we neither have or shall attempt any thing for the adjourning, dissolving or proroguing thereof, otherwise, then as it may stand with the Act in that case provided.

Lastly we declare, That our endeavours, actions, & resolutions tend, and are directed, and shall alwayes be directed, to the maintenance of Gods true Religion, established by Law within this Kingdome; to the defence of His Majesties sacred Person, His Honour and just Rights; to the preservation of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, settled, and evident by the Lawes, Statutes and Customes of the Realme; and the just freedome, Liberty and Priviledge of Parliament; and that what we shall doe for the defence and maintenance of all these, proceeds from the conscience of our duty to God, our King and

Countrey, without any private and sinister ends of our  
 owne, and out of our sincere love to truth and Peace, the  
 which as we have, so we shall alwayes labour to procure,  
 as the onely blessed end of all our labours. And we doe  
 therefore conjure all our Countrey-men and fellow Sub-  
 jects, by all those pretious obligations of Religion to  
 God Almighty, of Loyalty towards their Sovereigne, of  
 affection towards one another, and of charity and com-  
 passion towards their bleeding Countrey, to assist and  
 joyne with us in the suppressing those Enemies to Peace,  
 who are so much delighted with the ruine and confusion  
 they have made, that they will not so much as vouchsafe  
 to Treat with us, that all specious pretences might be ta-  
 ken away, and the grounds of this bloody Contention  
 clearly stated to the World. If these men, with a true  
 sense and remorse of the ill they have done, shall yet re-  
 turne to their duty and loyalty, they shall (God willing)  
 find us of another temper towards them, then they have  
 been towards us; and if the conscience of their duty shall  
 not draw all our fellow Subjects and Country-men to  
 joyne with us in assisting His Majesty, we hope that the  
 prudent consideration (that 'tis impossible to reason, for  
 our miserable Country ever to be restored to Peace and  
 happinesse, but by restoring all just and legally due power  
 and authority into His Majesties Hands againe,) will di-  
 rect them what is fitt to be done by them. And if any yet  
 shall be so unskillfull, and to say no worse, vulgar spirited,  
 to hope by a Neutrality and odious indifferency, to rest  
 secure in this storme, though we shall not follow the ex-  
 amples of other men, in telling them, That their Estates  
 shall be forfeited and taken from them, as pernicious and  
 publique Enemies, (God be thanked) the Law is not so  
 suppress,



suppress, but that it proceeds in Attainders and Forfeitures, and all men know an Estate Escheated to His Majesty by high Treason, is as much, as legally His Majesties, or his to whom His Majesty grants it, as ever it was the unhappy Persons who hath so forfeited it, yet we must let them know, that their condition is like to be very dangerous; and that as they (for resistance of whom His Majesties Armies are raised) have declared to them what they are to expect at their hands, that is, to be dealt with as pernicious and publique Enemies. So they have reason to believe, that His Majesty cannot look upon them as Persons who have performed that duty they are obliged by their naturall Allegiance, and their Oathes enjoyed by Law, which is, *to defend the King to the utmost of their Power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His Majesties Person, His Crowne and Dignity, and to doe their best endeavours to disclose and make knowne to Him all Treasons and Conspiracies which shall be against Him; to their power to assist all Jurisdctions, Priviledges, Prebeminences and Authorities belonging to Him, or united to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme.* The just and pious consideration and weighing of which Oath and obligation, must stirre up all men of Loyalty and Conscience, to be industrious and active on His Majesties behalfe against this horrid and odious Rebellion, and against the Authors and Fomenters of the same. And we are confident it will not a little encrease the Indignation of all good true Englishmen, to find these disturbers of their Peace, who have so speciously pretended the defence of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, unite themselves with, and governe their Actions by the concurrent advice and consent of Commissioners

of another Kingdome, whose businesse is to alter our Lawes, and confound our Government. And if all the other particulars so plainly set downe in this Declaration, and so publicquely knowne to most men, were wanting, there could not be a greater instance of deserting the Dignity and Right, and as much as in them lies, cancelling all the Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament, then for these men to break the trust reposed in them by their Countrey, and to submit themselves to the advice, and oblige themselves to the consent of Agents of another Kingdome, who have cast off their Allegiance, and united themselves together against their naturall and native King, and against the Lawes of both Kingdomes, and have given an ample testimony to all those they have misled, how farre they are from submitting or intending to be governed by Parliament, or by those who would yet be thought the two Houses of Parliament, by joyning foure *Scotchmen* (Agents for that Rebellious Army which hath invaded this Kingdom) in equall power and authority with seven Lords and foureteen Commons, by whose sole and uncontrolled managery and consent, all businesse of Peace and Warre, which do or may concerne this languishing Kingdom, must be governed. And yet these men take it very Haynously, that His Majesty should move them in order to Peace, to agree that all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, because (they say) *from thence no other conclusion can be made, But that this present Parliament is not a full nor free Convention, and that to make it such the presence of us is necessary.* We must appeale to all the World, whether in truth that conclusion be not very apparent from the truth of their proceedings, and even to the

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the Consciences of these men themselves; whether whilst we were amongst them, we enjoyed that liberty and freedom which was due to us; and whether (if there were no danger or breach of duty in being willingly and constantly present where Actions of Treason are Plotted and concluded) we could now be with them without engaging our selves in that Covenant, which as it takes away all freedom and liberty of Council, so cannot be taken without the violation of our duty and Allegiance. For the deserting the great trust reposed in us, we cannot with the least colour be accused; we wish it had not been, or were not now broken on their parts, on ours we are sure it is not; except observation of our Oathes lawfully taken and enjoyned, and submission to the known established Lawes of the Land, the preservation of which is our greatest trust, be to desert the Trust reposed in us: What they have done, who have broken through all these, and will not at last consent to the binding up the wounds they have made, we must leave to the world to judge. In the meantime, since 'tis apparent they use their utmost endeavours to make Peace impossible, and (having enriched themselves by these publique Calamities, and impoverished their Countrey by the transportation of the wealth thereof into Forraigne Parts) have left themselves no other meanes to repay those vast Summes they have extorted from the People upon that they call *Publique Faith*, but out of the Estates of those who have preserved their duty and Loyalty entire, and at the prize of their Religion and Lawes intend to establish a Government and Empire to themselves, all good men who desire Peace will joyne with us in the suppressing these Enemies of Peace, and by a Resolute and unanimous Declaration  
of



of themselves, rise as one Man in the assistance of His Majesty, with their Persons and their Fortunes, which is the onely meanes, with Gods blessing, to restore and preserve the Religion, Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the very being of Parliaments, the which if these men have any mind to doe (it being not so easily to be done any other way) they will at last be willing, that all the Members of both Houses may meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, which we have alwayes desired, and shall be alwayes ready to doe.

**S I H**



# HIS MAJESTIES

Message to both Houses,

Aprill 12. 1643.

## CONCERNING DISBANDING

of both Armies, and His MAJESTIES

*returne to both Houses of Parliament.*

**T**O show to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for Peace, and that no successe shall make him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time then that, and untill things may be so settled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, both Houses, and His good Subjects.

As soon as His Majesty is satisfied in His first Proposition concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Ports, in which He desires nothing but that the Just, Known, Legal Rights

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of

of His Majesty (devolved to Him from His progenitors) and of the Persons trusted by Him, which hath violently been taken from both, be restored unto Him and unto them, unlesse any Iust and Legall exceptions against any of the Persons trusted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majesty) can be made appeare to Him.

2. As soon as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of *January*, 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their Birth-Rights, and the free Election of those that sent them, and having been Voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these distractions. His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whole places upon new Writs new Elections have been made.

3. As soon as His Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great breach of the Priviledges, and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two severall complaints from the Lords House, and



two severall desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyne in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire, might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued. Which security His Majesty conceives can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from *London*, the choyce of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses.

His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediatly disbanded, and give a present meeting to both His Houses of Parliament at the time and place, at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious Preaching and Printing against His Majesty, and the established Lawes, which hath been one of the chief causes of the present distractions, and such care will be taken concerning the Legall and known Rights of His Majesty, and the Property and Liberty

berthy of His Subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Armes without His Majesties consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturbe the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention His Majesty is resolved by His readinesse to Consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to Him by Bill for the Recall good of His Subjects, ( and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants, for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of practices of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the Lawes, and true levying of the penalties against them ) to make known to all the World, how causelesse those feares and jealousies have been, which have been raised against Him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdome. And if this offer of His Majesty be not consented to, ( in which He asks nothing for which there is not appa-

apparant Justice on His side, and in which He  
 defers many things highly concerning both  
 Himselfe and People, till a full and Peaceable  
 Convention Parliament of which in Justice He  
 might now require) His Majesty is confident  
 that it will then appeare to all the World, not on-  
 ly who is most desirous of Peace, and whose  
 fault it is that both Armies are not now disban-  
 ded, but who have been the true and first cause  
 that this Peace was ever interrupted, or these Ar-  
 mies raised; and the beginning or continuance  
 of the Warre, and the destruction and desolation  
 of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to en-  
 sue) will not, by the most interested, passi-  
 onate, or prejudicate Person, be  
 imputed to His Majesty.





# HIS MAJESTIES

## MESSAGE TO BOTH

Houses May 19. in pursuance  
of the foregoing Message.

**S**INCE His Majesties Message of the twelfth of *Aprill* ( in which He conceived He had made such an Overture for the immediat Disbanding of all Armies, and Composure of these present miserable distractions, by a full and free convention in Parliament, that a perfect and settled Peace would have ensued ) hath in all this time ( above a full Moneth ) procured no Answer from both Houses, His Majesty might well believe Himselfe absolved before God and Man, from the least possible

fible Charge of not having uled His utmost endeavour for Peace; yet when He considers that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowells of His own Kingdom, that all the Blood which is spilt is of His own Subjects, and that what victory soever it shall please God to give Him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him; When He considers that these desperate civill Dissentions may encourage and invite a forraigne Enemy to make a Prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost; That the heavy judgements of God, Plague, Pestilence and Famine, will be the inevitable Attendants of this unnaturall Contention; And that in a short time, there will be so generall a habite of uncharitablenesse and Cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdome, that even Peace it selfe will not restore His People to their old Temper and Security; His Majesty cannot but againe call for an Answer to that His Message, which gives so faire a Rise, to end these unnaturall Distractions. And His Majesty doth this with the more earnestnesse, becaule He doubts not the condition of His Armies in severall parts, His strength of Horse, Foot and Artillery, His Plenty  
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of Ammunition ( which some men lately might conceive he wanted ) is so well known and understood , that it must be confessed, that nothing but the tendernesse and Love to His People, and those Christian Impressions which alwayes have , and He hopes alwayes shall dwell in His Heart, could move Him once more to hazard a Refusal. And He Requires them as they will answer to God, to Himselfe , and all the World , That they will no longer suffer their fellow Subjects to welter in each others Blood; That they will remember by whole Authority, and to what end they met in that Councell, and send such an Answer to His Majesty as may open a Doore to let in a firme Peace and Security to the whole Kingdom. If His Majesty shall againe be disappointed of His Intentions herein, the Blood, Rapine and Distraction, which must follow in *England* and *Ireland* , will be cast upon the Accompt of those who are deaf to the motion of Peace and Accommodation.

**F I N I S.**